THE WAR A REBELLION OF CAPITAL AGAINST LABOR, TO ENSLAVE THE LABORER.

This war is the laboring man's war; a conflict between free labor and slave labor. Shall the North be subjugated to slave labor, or the South to free labor? The slaveocracy and their apologists in the North and in Europe claim that the South represents capital, and the North labor; that the South is the capitalist, and the North the laborer. By slavery, the South means labor; by slaveholder, it means capitalist; and by slave, it means laborer. That labor and slavery, and laborer and slave, are one and the same thing, is the pervading sentiment of the South. Thus, the report of the Vicksburg Commercial Convention, in 1859, says—

"Slavery is nothing more than labor obeying unchecked, unregulated, irresponsible capital."

The following law governs labor in every slave State:-

"A slave (laborer) is one who is in the power of the master (capitalist) to whom he belongs; he can do nothing, earn nothing, and possess nothing, but that belongs to his owner, (the capitalist,) and he is a chattel personal in the hands of his master, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."

This is the one idea of Rebeldom in regard to labor and the laborer. This war is an effort of slave-driving capitalists to enslave the laborers of the entire nation and continent. For forty years they have labored to bring the nation to regard labor as slavery, and laborers as slaves. Now they are fighting to reduce the laborers of the nation, white as well as black, to slavery. Laborers of the North! here is the proof:

- "Slave labor, black or white, is right. Nature has made the weak in mind and body for slaves." [Geo. Fitzhugh, of Virginia.]
- "The theory of free labor is a delusion. Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, white or black." [De Bow's Southern Review.]
- "The enslavement of the laborer is right in itself, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Experience shows the universal success of slave-labor, and the universal failure of free labor." [Richmond Enquirer, organ of Jeff. Davis.]
- "Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti." [George Fitzhugh.]
- "Make the laboring man a slave, and he would be far better off." [The same.]
- "The enslavement of the laborer alone can save society against the dangerous vice of legislative intermeddling between the laborer and the capitalist." [George McDuffie, Governor of South Carolina in 1835.]

"The free laborer works when he pleases, for whom he pleases, and for what he pleases. But the enslaved laborer works not as he pleases, but as his master (the capitalist) pleases." [Report of a Southern Commercial Convention, May, 1859.]

"In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life; a class requiring but a low order of intellect and little skill. This class constitutes the MUD-SILLS of society, and of political government. The manual, hired laborers of the North, the operatives, as they are called, are mere slaves." [Hammond, of South Carolina.]

"There must be a class of men whose business is to dig the soil and tend the herds, and who must not be allowed to have any real or personal property of their own. This class never will, never can, and never ought to take any part in the political affairs of the country." [Hon. B. Watkins Leigh, of Virginia.]

"Free labor has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted." [Senator Mason of Virginia.]

"Policy and humanity alike forbid the extension of the evils of free labor to new peoples and coming generations." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"Slave labor should be allowed to pour itself abroad without restraint, and find no limit but the Southern ocean. I would introduce it into the very heart of the North." [Hon. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia.]

"I would spread the blessings of slave labor, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the utmost ends of the earth. Wicked and rebellious as the Yankees are, I would extend it even to them"—i. e., enslave all Northern as well as Southern laborers. [Brown, of Mississippi.]

"There is not a Democrat in all the North who is opposed to the extension of slave labor"—i. e., who is opposed to the enslavement of the laborers. [N. Y. Day Book.]

"In the slave system, the laborer himself is property—a negotiable chattel." [Commercial Convention at Vicksburg.]

"The slave laborers of the South are far better off than the free laborers of the North. Our slave laborers are not only better off as to physical comforts than the free laborers, but their moral, social and domestic condition is better." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"The condition of the slave laborers of the South is heaven on earth compared with that of the free laborers of the North." [Rev. J. C. Potsell, South Carolina.]

"The Northern States, in rejecting slave labor, have destroyed order, and rejected the strongest argument to prove the existence of Deity." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"Free labor is impracticable, and is everywhere starving, demoralizing, and insurrectionary." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"There are slave races born to labor, and master races born to govern, and control the fruits of labor." [Richmond Examiner, 1863.]

"The establishment of the Confederacy is a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization of the age.

For 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' we have deliberately substituted Slavery"—i. e., for free labor the Confederacy has substituted slave labor; for voluntary labor, the Confederacy has substituted involuntary labor; for paid labor, the Confederacy has substituted unpaid labor. [Richmond Enquirer.]

"WE BELIEVE CAPITAL SHOULD OWN LABOR. Is there any doubt that there must be a laboring class everywhere? In all countries, and under every form of government and civilization, there must be a laboring class—a class of men who get their living by the sweat of their brow; and then there must be another class, to control the fruits of their labor." [Herschel V. Johnson.]

"Free society! We sicken at the name. 'What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, and small-fisted farmers? All the Northern States are devoid of society fitted for a well-bred gentleman. The prevailing class is that of mechan ics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are not fit for association with a gentleman's body-servant." [The Muscoge Herald, Alabama.]

"Many in the South once believed that slaveholding was a moral and political evil, but that folly and delusion are gone. We now see it in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions." [John C. Calhoun, 1838.]

"The hand that is familiar with the plough-handle should never be permitted to touch a ballot." [John C. Calhoun.]

"We are told that men are not only born equal, but free. The very reverse of this is true." [Southern Christian Herald, Columbia, S. C.]

"I repudiate, as ridiculously absurd, that much lauded, but nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson, that 'all men are born equal.'" [Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina.]

"Men are not born to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say that some (the laborers) were born with saddles on their backs and bits in their mouths, and others (the capitalists) born booted and spurred to ride them; and the riding does them good. They (the laborers) need the rein, the bit, and the spur. Life and liberty are not inalienable. The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false and aborescently fallacious." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"He that holdeth the plough cannot get wisdom," i. c., should not be educated. [Prof. Dew, of Va.]

"The laws of all the Southern States justify the holding of white men in slavery." [Richmond Enquirer.]

"The rebellion is against the laboring classes—to perpetuate the power of the rich over the poor. The first move of the rebels was to make land and slaves the basis of political power." [Major General Butler, in New York, in 1862.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN stands before the nation and the world as the *political* embodiment and representative of paid and enfranchised free labor—George B. McClellan as the *political* embodiment and representative of compulsory, unpaid, and disfranchised labor. The

Union party and candidate politically represent that social system in which labor is the only real capital, and the laborer the only true and rightful capitalist; in which the laborer works when, for whom and for what he pleases. The Democratic party and candidate represent that system in which the laborer and all he earns belong to another, and in which he is in subjection to the "unregulated, unchecked, irresponsible capitalist." Abraham Lincoln and George B. McClellan are candidates for the Presidency of the United States; the former, the nominee of the Union party that represents voluntary, compensated, enfranchised labor; the latter, of the Democratic party, that represents involuntary, unpaid, disfranchised labor. One of these must be elected on the 8th of next November. The one great question to be settled on that day is-Shall the laborers of the South be made free, or the laborers of the North be made slaves? Or, in other words-Shall the South be subju-GATED TO FREEDOM AND FREE LABOR; OR THE NORTH TO SLA-VERY AND SLAVE LABOR?

The Peace Democracy says—"Close the war by an armistice, and a convention of all the States"—i. e. by enslaving the laborers of the North. The Union party says—"Close the war by freeing the laborers of the South." Lincoln says—"Save the nation by subjugating the continent to free labor;" McClellan says—"Save the Union by consigning the laborers of the continent to the hell of slavery!" The Baltimore Platform says—"Reconstruct the Republic on the basis of voluntary, compensated labor;" the Chicago Platform says—"Reconstruct it on the basis of compulsory, unpaid labor." Whoever votes for the Baltimore Platform and its candidate, votes for the entire abolition and constitutional prohibition of slave labor within the limits of the United States; but whoever votes for the Chicago Platform and its candidate, votes for the abolition and prohibition of free labor, and the constitutional extension and perpetuity of slave labor.

LABORERS OF THE NORTH! For whom and for what do you mean to vote on the 8th of next November? For freedom or for slavery to the toiling millions of this nation and continent, and of the world? All who vote for Lincoln vote for dignity to labor and for freedom and self-respect to the laborer; but all who vote for McClellan vote for the enslavement of the laborer, and for the de-

gradation and dishonor of labor.

VOTING LABORERS! Will you vote for your own disfranchisement, degradation and dishonor? Will you vote for concubinage or for marriage?—for the prostitution, pollution and damnation of your wives and mothers, your daughters and sisters, or for their purity, elevation and happiness? Your votes must tell for the blessigs of free labor, or for the horrors of slave labor. They must tell for freedom and free labor in Lincoln, or for slavery and slave labor in McClellan. They must tell for the elevation and happiness of laborers in the Baltimore Platform; or for their degradation, their enslavement and ruin in the Chicago Platform. Are you for Lincoln and free labor, or for McClellan and slave labor? Earth's toiling millions wait and watch for the answer you may give by your ballots the 8th of November. Heaven grant your votes may be against slavery and slave labor, and for freedom and free labor!